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THE CRISIS

Vol. 23. No. 2 DECEMBER, 1921 Whole No. 134

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

PRESIDENT HARDING AND SOCIAL EQUALITY

FOR fifty years we who, *pro* and *con*, have discussed the Negro Problem, have been skulking behind a phrase—"Social Equality." Today President Harding's speech, like sudden thunder in blue skies, ends the hiding and drives us all into the clear light of truth.

We had our excuses perhaps in the past: about every problem of human relations lurks a penumbra of shadowing possibilities, which we would not discuss. It seems unnecessary, inappropriate, beside the point. And so defenders of the higher training of women have hestitated to explore sex freedom for females; and lovers of democracy have declined to consider the possibility of the masses voting their own wages. It is not that we have denied the ensuing problems that shadow our main object, but we have said with a certain truth: sufficient unto the present tangle is the obvious evil thereof. Let us follow the clear light and afterward turn to other darknesses.

But sometimes this becomes suddenly impossible. Sometimes the so-considered minor problem is so tremendous and insistent that it leaps to the fore and demands examination and honest facing. This is particularly so when we have not simply ignored the problem but have deliberately and cynically lied about it, denied it, and said not that "Social Equality" was not a pertinent and pressing problem; but rather that it was no problem at all.

The Birmingham Speech

AND now comes President Harding's Birmingham speech when unwittingly or deliberately the President brings the crisis. We may no longer dodge nor hesitate. We must all, black or white, Northerner or Southerner, stand in the light and speak plain words.

The President must not for a moment be blamed because, when invited to the semi-centennial of a great southern city of industry, he talked of the Negro instead of the results of profitable mining. There is but one subject in the South. The Southerners themselves can speak no other, think no other, act no other. The eternal and inevitable southern topic is and has been and will be the Black Man.

Moreover, the President laid down three theses with which no American can disagree without a degree of self-stultification almost inconceivable, namely:

1. The Negro must vote on the same terms that white folk vote.
2. The Negro must be educated.
3. The Negro must have economic Justice.

The sensitive may note that the President qualified these demands somewhat, even dangerously, and yet they stand out so clearly in his speech that he must be credited with meaning to give them their real significance. And in this the President

made a braver, clearer utterance than Theodore Roosevelt ever dared to make or than William Taft or William McKinley ever dreamed of. For this let us give him every ounce of credit he deserves.

Social Equality

BUT President Harding did not stop here. Indeed he did not begin here. Either because he had no adequate view of the end of the fatal path he was treading or because, in his desire to placate the white South, he was careless of consequences, he put *first* on his program of racial settlement a statement which could have been understood and was understood and we fear was intended to be understood to pledge the nation, the Negro race and the world to a doctrine so utterly inadmissible in the twentieth century, in a Republic of free citizens and in an age of Humanity that one stands aghast at the motives and the reasons for the pronouncement.

It may to some seem that this statement is overdrawn. Some puzzled persons may say: but Negroes themselves have told me that they repudiate "Social Equality" and amalgamation of race; in fact, right there at Birmingham, Negro applause of the President was audible.

All this does not minimize—rather it emphasizes the grave crisis precipitated by the President's speech. It emphasizes the fact of our mental skulking or transparent and deliberate dishonesty in dealing with the Negro.

Social equality may mean two things. The obvious and clear meaning is the right of a human being to accept companionship with his fellow on terms of equal and reciprocal courtesy. In this sense the term is understood and defended by modern men. It has not been denied by any civilized man since the French Revolution. It is the foundation of democracy and to bring it into being, the world went through revolution, war, murder and hell.

But there is another narrow, stilted and unreal meaning, that is sometimes dragged from these words, namely: Social Equality is the right to demand private social companionship with another.

Or to put it more simply: the real meaning of "social equality" is eligibility to association with men, and the forced and illogical meaning is the right to demand private association with any particular person. Such a demand as the latter is idiotic and was never made by any sane person; while on the contrary, for any person to admit that his character is such that he is physically and morally unfit to talk or travel or eat with his fellow-men, or that he has no desire to associate with decent people, would be an admission which none but a leper, a criminal or a liar could possibly make. It is the very essence of self respect and human equality and it carries with it no jot of arrogance or assumption—it is simply *Homo Sum.*

Self-Deception

DESPITE this, for fifty years the Southern white man has said to the Negro: Do you mean to say that you consider yourself fit to associate with white people? And the Negro has answered; but the question which he answered was not the one asked, but rather the other totally different question: Do you mean to say that you want to force your friendship and company on persons who do not want them? The answer to this is obviously an emphatic and indignant *No.* But when the Negro said *No,* he knew that he was not answering the question the white man intended to ask and the white man knew that the Negro knew this, and that he himself had purposely asked a question of double and irreconcilable meaning, when he said, "Do you want Social Equality?"

And so this undeceiving deception has gone on for fifty years until the President of the United States, throwing caution to the winds, has either boldly or unwittingly announced as a national policy that "men of both races may well stand uncompromisingly against every suggestion of Social Equality."

Or in other words, that no man, no matter how civilized, decent or gifted he may be, shall be permitted to associate with his fellow men on terms of equality or want to associate with them, if he be a Negro or of Negro descent.

Let us sweep away all quibbling: Let us assume that the President was sane and serious and could not and did not mean by "social equality" anything so inconceivable as the right of a man to invite himself to another man's dinner table. No. Mr. Harding meant that the American Negro must acknowledge that it was a wrong and a disgrace for Booker T. Washington to dine with President Roosevelt!

The answer to this inconceivably dangerous and undemocratic demand must come with the unanimous ring of 12 million voices, enforced by the voice of every American who believes in Humanity.

Let us henceforward frankly admit that which we hitherto have always known; that *no system of social uplift which begins by denying the manhood of a man can end by giving him a free ballot, a real education and a just wage.*

Race Equality

LET us confess that the pseudo-science to which the President unhappily referred as authority, and the guilty philanthropy which has greedily levelled racial barriers and now seeks with the bloodstained hands of a Lugard to rearrange them so that profit may emerge and manhood be dammed—let us confess that all this is vain, wrong and hypocritical and that every honest soul today who seeks peace, disarmament and the uplift of all men must say with the Pan-African Congress:

"The absolute equality of races,—physical, political and social— is the founding stone of world peace and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voice of science, religion and practical politics is one in denying the God-appointed existence of superior races, or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior."

To deny this fact is to throw open the door of the world to a future of hatred, war and murder such as never yet has staggered a bowed and crucified humanity. How can a man bring himself to conceive that the majority of mankind—Chinese, Japanese, Indians and Negroes are going to stand up and acknowledge to the world that they are unfit to be men or to associate with men, when they know they *are* men?

Amalgamation

BUT President Harding does not stop even here. He declares "Racial amalgamation there cannot be."

What does the President mean?

Does he mean that the White and Negro races in this land never have mixed? There are by census reports over two million acknowledged mulattoes in the United States today; and without doubt there are, in fact, no less than four million persons with white and Negro blood.

Does he mean that there is no amalgamation today? Between 1850 and 1921 the mulattoes have increased over 400 per cent. Does he mean there will be no future amalgamation? How does he know?

Or does he mean that it would be better for Whites and Blacks not to amalgamate? If he meant that, why did he not say so plainly? And if he

had said so, 99 per cent of the Negroes would agree with him. We have not asked amalgamation; we have resisted it. It has been forced on us by brute strength, ignorance, poverty, degradation and fraud. It is the white race, roaming the world, that has left its trail of bastards and outraged women and then raised holy hands to heaven and deplored "race mixture." No, we are not demanding and do not want amalgamation, but the reasons are ours and not yours. It is not because we are unworthy of intermarriage — either physically or mentally or morally. It is not because the mingling of races has not and will not bring mighty offspring in its Dumas and Pushkin and Coleridge-Taylor and Booker Washington. It is because no real men accept any alliance except on terms of absolute equal regard and because we are abundantly satisfied with our own race and blood. And at the same time we say and as free men must say that whenever two human beings of any nation or race desire each other in marriage, the denial of their legal right to marry is not simply wrong—it is lewd.

Segregation and Race Pride

AND this brings us to the last word of President Harding: He says in one breath:

> Especially would I appeal to the self respect of the colored race. I would inculcate in it the wish to improve itself as a distinct race with a heredity, a set of traditions, an array of aspirations all its own. Out of such racial ambitions and pride will come natural segregations.
>
> The one thing we must sedulously avoid is the development of group and class organizations in this country. There has been a time when we heard too much about the labor vote, the business vote, the Irish vote, the Scandinavian vote, the Italian vote, and so on. But the demagogues who would array class against class and group against group have fortunately found little to reward their efforts.

Is the President calling himself a demagogue? Does he not realize the logical contradictions of his thought? Can he not see his failure to recognize the Universal in the Particular, the menace of all group exclusiveness and segregation in the forced segregation of American Negroes? Can he not in this day of days with foreigners of every race flocking to Washington and the eyes of a blood-weary world strained after them—can he not realize the vast, the awful implications of this appeal to the Frankenstein of race exclusiveness — that hateful thing which has murdered peace and culture and nations? Does he not hear the answer that leaps to our lips? For when Warren Harding or any white man comes to teach Negroes pride of race, we answer that our pride is our business and not theirs, and a thing they would better fear rather than evoke: For the day that Black men love Black men simply because they are Black, is the day they will hate White men simply because they are White.

And then, God help us all!

CHAMOUNIX

I HAVE seen the League of Nations, the Federation of the World, sitting in a little upper room and stared at by reporters, amidst streams of hopes and fears and of intrigues. After that I came to Chamounix—to cow bells and silence and trickle of waters. Above this world-on-end, lies the vast Thing of Snow,—silent, tremendous, a world apart, remembered and forgotten; a place of lights and shadows, unknown to earth. And of mists. I think the real marriage of earth and stars lies somehow in these mists. There is every preparation for it: the calm and pretty valley with its cows, with its homes, its little intrigues and tragedies, its laughter and flowers. Then gradually and gravely uplifted, the pointing pines; the fingers of the sullen, steadfast

pines, pointing, always pointing. And then a space of lichen, leaf and brown gorse; and then a wide grey pause of utter rock, weirdly a waste, grim in its sense of age and strength. After that the snows, the white and blue and golden snows with their feet drabbled in the earth.

What more fitting approach to the stars, to the thoughts that lie beyond the world, enchained and hallowed? One sees this mirage of earth and skies as a mist, a grey and white uncertainty, where line and point drift, merge and dissolve into something that is just cloud and sky.

Last night in the rift of the world formed by the serried snow-broidered edge of the Alps, I saw the moon sailing in seas of sounds and tints of tawny green and hurrying waters; without the narrow rift, lifted their heads, snows of clouds and clouds of snows, mountains real and mountains spiritual, clouds of mountains and mountains of clouds, until the world, the great soiled world, was a thing so beautiful, so rare, so still and sweet that life seemed all love and wonder. I could almost hear the sound of stars raining down upon Mont Blanc: the mist of the rain was moon shine there on the dim White Mountain, and the song of the sound of it was as the voice of death calling to the victorious. It was like white age above the brutal strength of youth; it was sweet childhood which is always apart and beyond the scarred and moaning world. How singular is this ceaseless sound of waters, the dripping and dropping of snows, the roar of fallen mists, the dashing of clouds in the slow, grey and crumpled rivers of riven ice. And yet against the voice of the waters is the voice of the mountain; it is the mountain audible, the song of snows, the color of space, the feeling of things without end. The mountain is unmoveable; day and day, night after night we have flown and whirled about it, changed to city after city and ridden

over hill and dale, resting and running, yet the mountain is always there, pale and calm and motionless, curiously eternal.

If I lived here long I should pray to Mont Blanc, throwing my hands in ecstacy, screaming my tears. I should heap fire against it and vow gold and jewels. It should be God. For what else can God be but a Mountain or the Sea?

In that transforming miracle of the mountain and the mist there is always sinking to earth some solemn

singing as of things and of thoughts that rise above, beyond and athwart the heavy tongued earth and melt to something vaster and truer. It is midnight in the valley. I cannot sleep, for the mountain never sleeps and the moon tonight is widely awake. I sit and scribble and then ever and again creep to my window. The marvel of it, the sheer, inhuman perfectness of it all, the almost pain of its beauty and hurt of its joy! It is there still in the morning. The White Wraith has melted into the sky, throwing earthwards one long pale finger. Its feet are at the founding stones of the universe and its head is lost with the stars. Its thoughts are the thoughts of God. The world is grey and black with purple interludes. The waters wail. At last the long shaft dies there from the topmost shoulder of the mighty hill and with its death the mist drops nearer to the black and burning earth. And always the pines point upward.

THE SERMON IN THE CRADLE

NOW when Jesus was born in Benin of Nigeria in the days of English rule, behold, there came wise men from the East to London.

Saying, Where is he that is born King of the Blacks? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.

When the Prime Minister had heard these things, he was troubled, and all England with him.

And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scholars of the land together, he demanded of them where this new Christ should be born.

And they said unto him, in Benin of Nigeria: for thus it was written by the prophet:

And thou Benin, in the land of Nigeria, art not the least among the princes of Africa: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my Negro people.

Then the Prime Minister, when he had privily called the wise men, inquired of them diligently what time the star appeared.

And he sent them to Benin, and said, "Go and search diligently for the young child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also."

When they had heard the Premier, they departed; and lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was.

When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.

And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts: gold and medicine and perfume.

And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to England, they departed into their own country another way.

Save one, and he was black. And his own country was the country where he was; so the black Wise Man lingered by the cradle and the new-born babe.

The perfume of his gift rose and filled the house until through it and afar came the dim form of years and multitudes. And the child, seeing the multitudes, opened his mouth and taught them, saying:

Blessed are poor folks for they shall go to heaven.

Blessed are sad folks for someone will bring them joy.

Blessed are they that submit to hurts for they shall sometime own the world.

Blessed are they that truly want to do right for they shall get their wish.

Blessed are those who do not seek revenge for vengeance will not seek them.

Blessed are the pure for they shall see God.

Blessed are those who will not fight for they are God's children.

Blessed are those whom people like to injure for they shall sometime be happy.

Blessed are you, Black Folk, when men make fun of you and mob you and lie about you. Never mind and be glad for your day will surely come.

Always the world has ridiculed its better souls.

TO THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

(*Address delivered by M. Jean Baugniet, in the name of the International Confederation of Students at Brussels, Belgium, Sept.* 2, 1921.)

THE International Confederation of Students would not want the second Pan-African Congress to close without extending fraternal greetings to the organizers and members of the Congress in session here.

It therefore takes this opportunity to express at this meeting its most sincere sympathy for the intelligentsia of the Negro race. At a moment, and in a day when millions of Negroes are collaborating beyond the Atlantic and beyond the Sahara on the things of the mind, it is no longer possible to ignore them or to leave them ignored. We believe that one of the most sacred duties of the youth of our day is to assemble, regardless of prejudice of race or color, the intellectual forces of all nations in the hope of advancing toward a better future.

So it is with hearts of ardent hopefulness that we today greet Negro students and their leaders from across the sea. If their desire to know us is as strong as ours to know them, we shall assuredly succeed in evolving a mutually beneficial understanding. Negro brothers, the International Confederation of Students extends to you its heartfelt sympathy.

BUYERS OF DREAMS

A Story

ETHEL M. CAUTION

SPRING and Summer had passed with their promise and visions of life. Now came Autumn—glorious fulfillment. She painted her pathway with reds, and golds, and browns. Boughs that had once been showers of pink petals were now freighted with richly tinted fruits. Leaves to whom the wind had whispered shy little secrets covered the earth with their radiant hues, and as one trampled through them, the wonder and mystery crept up into one's very soul. If with Spring came restlessness and yearning, and with Summer thrills of experimenting, with Autumn came conviction and decision.

At this season of the year the Seller of Dreams was always very busy with folks wanting various and sundry dreams. So today he busied himself polishing his cases and placing his wares to the best advantage for inspection by Youth, Beauty, and Age who would surely visit him. His whole shop was radiant and inviting with cleanness.

And such dreams as he had!—marvelous things of costly price and others not so attractive and therefore to be bought for less. And because in the Autumn people usually paid highly for their purchases, the less expensive, ordinary little dreams were not given the place of honor.

It was early in the morning. The shop had scarcely been open when in came a dashing young lady needing a dream. She looked the wares over very carefully and asked prices. One that was all shining and dazzling appealed to her but the price was rather more than she had thought of paying.

"Here are some beautiful ones," said the shopkeeper.

"Oh, those!" answered the girl in disgust.

"Well, of course, they are not as gorgeous as the ones you like."

The girl pondered and pursed her mouth and made little mental calculations on her fingers. Finally:

"If you will agree, I will pay you what I have with me now and you can put the dream aside. I will come with the rest later. Will that be all right?"

"Yes, I shall be glad to oblige you if you are sure that is the dream you wish."

"Oh, but it is! Just see how it shines! Everyone will turn to look because it is so beautiful."

She went away with a satisfied smile on her face.

A few hours later another girl came in, dignified and impressive in air, and asked to see the dreams.

The shopkeeper showed her the shiny beautiful ones; but she wanted something out of the ordinary, something that everyone didn't have. So he showed her some that were very unique, even peculiar.

"That's what I am looking for. I want a dream that will make me stand out as one in a thousand. There can be lots of gorgeous dreams and many drab ones, but very few people would think of taking one like I want. That is why I want it."

She paid for her dream and took it away.

Then trade lagged until nearly closing time, when a very plain little girl came in and quietly closed the door.

"What kind of dream would you like?" asked the keeper.

"Oh, I'll look around and see."

"I have some very lovely ones, but," eyeing her plain clothes, "they are very expensive."

"It won't be a question of money. I have been saving and saving so that I would have enough for whatever dream I picked out."

"Do you like this one?" picking out the most gaudy one he had.

"No, no. That isn't a real dream. That is only a bubble. It costs a lot, but we can't always measure worth by cost. That dream is for the society butterfly. It means fine clothes, and expensive parties; late hours and breakfasts in bed; yachts and trips; perfume and paint; and in the end, emptiness and dissatisfaction."

"Then, maybe you would like this one. I sold one today."

"No, that is for the girl who wants a career. She wants a dream that means bringing the world to her feet for some wonderful bit of work she has cornered. She doesn't realize the emptiness of mere fame and of work done just for personal glory."

The shopkeeper noticed the wistful twist in her smile and discovered that when she looked him full in the face, there were golden lights in her deep brown eyes.

"I think I like that dream over there," she said, indicating a very inconspicuous one off in a corner.

"That looks like a real dream and I am glad it is not very expensive, because more girls can buy one. Let me show you how beautiful it is."

He handed it out to her and her eyes sparkled and there was a lilt in her voice as she held it up to the light and said:

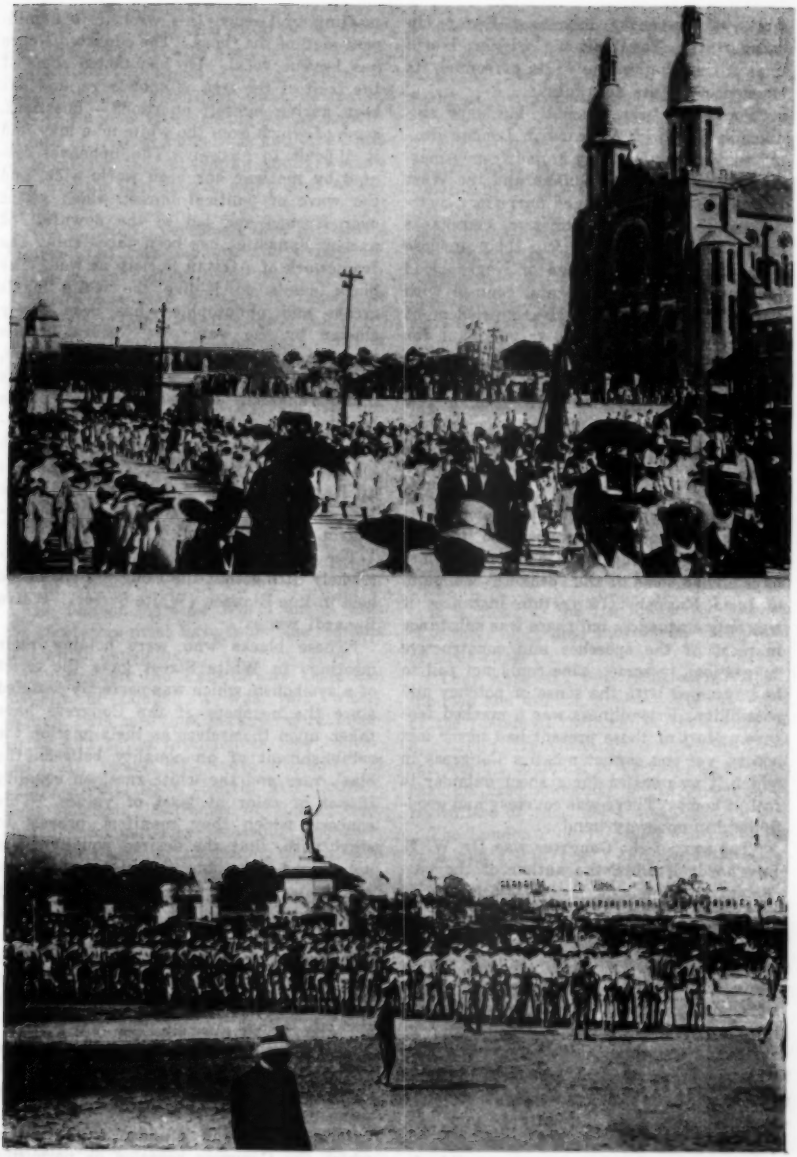
"This dream means comradeship, and love, home and happiness. Can you not see the beautiful babies in it? See their laughing eyes, and the dimples in their hands and plump little knees. See them wriggle their toes and reach their little hands to love and caress your face! I wouldn't pay a penny for your flashy dreams. A pin prick, and they are no more. Neither do I want your dream of a career to end my life in loneliness and emptiness and bitterness. This is a dream I shall buy. Love, babies, life!"

And the shopkeeper decided that of the three, she had made the wisest choice.

WHAT EUROPE THOUGHT OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

JESSIE FAUSET

A CORRESPONDENT of a New York newspaper speaks of the serious consideration which Europe gave to the sittings of the Second Pan-African Congress. Judging from the amount of publicity received from the leading journals of the



CELERRATING THE BIRTH OF DESSALINES IN HAITI

world, this meeting impressed Europe in many ways. The London *Christian World* finds it most impressive in its personnel, its eloquence and its frankness:

"There has been a small, but very significant, group of Africans in London during the week-end. They hailed from America and Africa, from Guiana and the West Indies, etc. They included barristers, journalists, medical men, ministers, merchants and university students, and their purpose was to bring together men of Negro blood for mutual acquaintance and counsel with a view to envisage the Negro problem of the world as a whole, and to lay plans for the raising of the African by strictly constitutional means.

"Apart from representatives of a few missionary societies and other sympathizers, it was entirely a colored man's Congress. Every white man present must have been amazed at the revelation of power and ability. Of course, there was eloquence; that goes without saying when the speakers are Negroes. But most Europeans must have envied some of the speakers' command of lucid English. In certain instances it was only eloquence; but there was substance in most of the speeches and constructive suggestions in some. One could not fail to be impressed with the sense of potency and possibility. Friendliness was a marked feature. Most of those present had never met before, yet one cannot recall a Congress in which it was easier for a sheer outsider to feel at home. There was courtesy and good-fellowship on every hand.

"The soul of the Congress was Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, the author of the passionate and amazing book 'Darkwater.'

"But Dr. DuBois is more than a personal force; he is significant of the new Negro. He does not tower as an isolated figure above his fellows. In the Congress there were men of eminence in many walks of life; a kind of Negro intelligentsia, all eager for the raising of their race. They were under no illusions with regard to Negroes. They freely criticized themselves, especially for their lack of cohesion. The impression grew on one that they were determined to make that sneer impossible for the future."

The Aberdeen, Scotland, *Free Press* thinks such a congress inevitable:

"The Pan-African Congress, which is meeting in London this week, is a significant sign of the times. The educated Negro has become vocal. He has tasted some of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and has been asking himself questions — questions, some of which even the white man may find it difficult to answer. The upheaval created by the war has been world-wide, and the wave of political unrest which swept over Europe and led to the downfall of ancient dynasties has been threatening the framework of African Society as well. The black man's mind—like the white man's creeds and philosophies—has been sorely shaken by the war. As General Smuts says, he is losing faith in the white man, in the white man's education, and the white man's religion. The educated native has heard of the principle of "self-determination," and he is proceeding to apply it to his own case. He has heard of the League of Nations, and asks whether the Negro race is to be represented at the great Sanhedrin of the Tribes."

The Paris *Petit Parisien* considers it extremely fitting that the Congress should be held in Rue Blanche (White Street). Pierre Bonardi writes:

"These blacks who were holding their meetings in White Street gave the effect of a symbolism which was perfectly justified since the members of the Congress have taken upon themselves as their mission the establishment of an equality between the black race and the white race, an equality if not of color at least of values. This concern which they manifest proves, to start with, that the desired equality does not as yet exist, but the high personages who figure in this Congress gave proof by their very presence that some Africans have on the one hand attained to the very highest degree of civilization, and that they would like, on the other hand, to make it evident that the Negro race is very near the intellectual level of other races."

According to the Paris *Humanité*, France had not suspected the existence of such a group of educated and thoughtful men and women of African descent:

"The black and mulatto intelligentsia which the Congress revealed or permitted us to know better, showed by its very existence that the black race is not naturally or essentially an inferior race, and that it is not destined to remain so forever.

"How can we consider inferior to white men these orators with their clear thought and their ready words; these audiences at once calm and attentive; these delegates, men and women representing strong organizations of tens, yes hundreds and thousands of members; that charming young woman who was the first colored aviatrix of America?"

No less noted a personage than Sir Harry Johnston, African explorer and writer, remarks in the London *Observer:*

"There has been meeting in London a Pan-African Congress, attended mainly by American Negroes or Americans with a greater or lesser degree of Negro blood in their composition. But there have also participated a few educated African Negroes and several men or women wholly of the white race. I, myself, had wished to be there to take part in one or two of the discussions and to meet old friends and acquaintances from America who were deeply interested in the growing, intensifying problems of the Negro race in the United States and in Africa."

The London *African World* shows that the spectators must have found the sessions well worth attending:

"Throughout the Pan-African Congress' sessions in London it was very wisely steered. Its meetings became more interesting and better attended as they continued. All phases of Negro disability in Africa—West, East, North, and South—were touched. Extremes of speech were carefully tempered by succeeding speakers. These men all had something to say, and said it, for the most part excellently. Ideas for the future emerged. But always behind it all there was the resentment at the manner of treatment by the ruling white races whatever the Continent to which they belonged.

"The impressions of the Congress that remain in one's mind are the intense love of country and race, the boundless enthusiasm, easily stirred into emotional display, the deep-rooted sense of grievance, the effective manner in which many of the speakers marshalled their arguments, and the merriment that so easily bubbled at some of the humorous flicks at the ideas of Europeans."

Black men have something to contribute to the world thinks the London *Challenge:*

"The Second Pan-African Congress, which has now concluded its sessions, is an event of the gravest import. The growth of a body of public opinion among peoples of Negro descent, broad enough to be called Pan-African, is one of the signs of the times, and while the leader of the Congress, Dr. DuBois, is miles removed from the inflated ambitions and swaggering attitude of Mr. Marcus Garvey, he, too, stands for the development of a black race-consciousness opposing itself in pride and defiance to the whites. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of which Dr. DuBois is secretary, is a sane organization which has already gained considerable influence and succeeded in defending the black man's rights all over the world. The Association has a claim upon the sympathy and help of every Christian, not only in view of the terrible recrudescence of lynching and forced labor, but because the African race must be helped to make its valuable contribution to the world's life and thought."

It is clear to the London *Daily Graphic* that these black men and women were proud of their cause:

"They were so intensely in earnest, both the men and women, so absolutely convinced of the justice of their cause, their right to a citizen's franchise, to representation in the world's councils, to everything, in fact, that civilized humanity offers to her sons, regardless of race, color and creed."

The London *Public Opinion* feels that the race has found itself and calls the Congress:

"A remarkable exhibition of race-consciousness and a revelation of the intellectual and moral development of the Negro."

The purpose of the Pan-African Congress is defined by the Paris edition of the *New York Herald:*

"The Pan-African Congress is not a scheme of migration either to Africa or elsewhere. It believes in the equality of men and races, but it seeks to realize this through education and opportunity and periodic conference.

"The question of the status of the Negro in modern society, the leaders declare, is no longer a domestic problem of the United States, or a parochial problem of Jamaica,

or a Colonial problem. It is rather a great world-wide problem to be viewed and considered as a whole."

The Paris *Petit Parisien* elaborates a little:

"To bring about the evolution of the black race which is scattered throughout the entire world, to obtain for it absolute equality with the white race from the political, social and economic standpoint by means of development resulting from the education and the instruction which the former is to receive from the latter, to make it co-operate closely with the white race—such are the main ideas of the new Pan-African Congress which opened its sessions yesterday in the Hall of Civil Engineers and which was presided over by M. Diagne, Deputy and High Commissioner of black troops in France."

A note of selfish fear is sounded by the Paris *Matin:*

"What is the goal of the Pan-African movement?

"The liberation of the blacks. This is a legitimate goal and one which will be inevitably attained. It will be attained the moment that the men actually under the domination of the superior races will have learned how to know and to co-ordinate their own forces.

"We have seen what has been taking place in Japan. We shall learn perhaps tomorrow of the transforming of China and later—it is almost a certainty there will be a transformation of Africa. But what we want is that this movement which we ourselves have helped to create will not turn against us. We are willing to help in an evolution which we ourselves have prepared, but we do not hold with being the victims of a revolution.

"The Congress particularly desires that the problems raised by the contact of the black and white races be studied and made public."

The Reuter Press Agency reports of the last Paris meeting in the *Westminster Gazette:*

"The Congress concluded its sittings yesterday with the adoption of a document addressed to the world at large, in which the rôle of each of the colonizing Powers is examined.

"The statement in question particularly insists on the necessity of recognizing the equality of the races from both the physical, political and social points of view, and of the constitution, among the colonizing Powers, under the aegis of the League of Nations, of an International Committee charged to study the problem raised by the evolution and protection of the Negro race."

France at least realizes that black as well as white people are divided into groups of extremists, of conservatives, of harebrained schemers, of careful thinkers. The Paris *Temps* submits:

"It is the claims of the wiser group which must be studied. As was perfectly natural they turned towards the League of Nations and asked it to establish in its bureau a permanent organization charged with working toward the liberation of black peoples and founded on the principle of equality of races. The League of Nations can't do otherwise than give them some semblance of satisfaction by establishing a commission to which shall be entrusted the study of the question. But it will be prevented by the prejudices of many from proclaiming equality of races as was the case at the Peace Conference when President Wilson absolutely refused to recognize it in the case of Japan. The road will be long for Negroes in the League of Nations toward the liberation, modest though it is, whose program they have elaborated in their Congress. But there is nothing to keep us French from putting into immediate practice in our colonies some articles at least of this program to start with. There is one to which we certainly have no objections since indeed we have already adopted it for a good many years back, namely 'the recognition of civilized men as civilized, regardless of their race or color.'

"In the main the Negroes have asked us in their Congress to be treated as brothers, backward ones for the most part, to be instructed and to be urged toward a higher social level, with good will and with respect for their race so far as its natural rights and its peculiar characteristics are concerned. They ask our friendly aid for advance along a road to civilization. Such a request would never find the soul of our France hostile and we are unwilling to

doubt that our Colonial ministers will not take time to go to Africa to make some inquiries into the best methods of granting their requests, for our colonies are not only territories for mines, cattle, agricultural products, they are, in addition and above all, men without whom our colonies would soon be sterile wastes, and we must have these men not against us but for us, not constrained by force but allied by their hearts."

To some the Congress is indicative of the approach of black rule. The English *Manchester Dispatch* observes mournfully:

"The white races do not naturally look forward with joyful emotions to the day when a prolific black race will rule. We may salve our fears by pinning our faith to the mollifying effects of education, religion, and civilization, but the time may come when we shall have to submit ourselves to the tender mercies of our dusky conquerors.

"A black leader observed in a speech the other day: 'We solemnly warn America that the patience of the colored peoples has its limits.'

"A possible precaution might be found in the provision of a black Palestine, a home of their own, in one of the more promising lands of Africa."

The members of the Congress had to battle with the obstacle common to all international organizations—that of merging national differences into a racial blend. Pierre Bonardi notes in the Paris *Petit Parisien:*

"Each of these Negroes represents a mentality which is not racial but which belongs to the particular *milieu* where he received his education. It will only be by conciliation and by the effacing of personalities that they will arrive at anything. If Negroes succeed in making one their different points of view, in effacing themselves in the interest of their brothers despite their personal ambitions, we shall have to admit that they will have given an unexpected example to the whites who even then will hardly be able to follow it.

"The blacks of Africa certainly have valuable defenders in their brothers who hail from the rest of the world. Everything that we have heard at these meetings proves it."

But there *was* unity, and, according to the London *West Africa*, that was the most significant feature of the Congress:

"The fact that so many people could gather, at great expense, from remote places, and disregarding the point that they are nationals of this Power or that, could unite on the vital matter of common grievances alleged to be suffered solely on account of race, and could speak with such a sense of sincerity and responsibility, is a fact which cannot lightly be passed over. We make no pretense of agreeing with everything in the speeches and resolutions. Probably no single member of the gathering differs from us on that point. But, on the whole, the speakers impress one with a sense of their earnestness, their willingness to abide the issue if given equality of opportunity, and their resolve to work for civil and political freedom within the limits of the Constitutions of their countries."

In Brussels indeed there was, however, a serious clash between American and British Negroes on the one hand, and French and Belgian Negroes on the other, with regard to the adoption of the resolutions which had been passed unanimously at London. The Americans and British gave in partly because there was a chance for the resolutions to come up again at the final session in Paris, but still more because they realized that unity between the different black groups was the supreme necessity of the organization. But the bad faith of the French presiding officer, M. Diagne, did not pass unnoticed. Says the London *African World:*

"The reason of these strenuous American and British efforts to have the London declaration endorsed by the Brussels Congress was, unquestionably, 'the resentment at the manner of treatment by the ruling white races'—to quote an expression in your last week's 'Impressions of the Meetings at Westminster'—a resentment frequently ventilated during the Congress, and notably by Mr. DuBois.

"After some three hours' fierce struggle concerning the refusal by Mr. Diagne (chairman of the Congress) to submit the London declaration to a vote of Congress, this distinguished Senegalese proposed the vote of the Otlet (Belgian) and of the de Magalhaes (Portuguese) motions, motions

asking the creation in each colonial nation of an institution of scientific research, concerning the development of the Negroes, institutes of which the works should be centralized by an international body.

"These motions voted by M. Diagne and his supporters were proclaimed by him, adopted by the Congress, whilst, in fact, this was not the case, the American and British Negroes (the majority of the Congress) not having voted for it."

Sometimes a note was sounded which brought back a protest from white auditors. Brussels was peculiarly sensitive. Says *L'Écho de la Bourse:*

"A Negro doctor, former deputy in the Portuguese Parliament, declared the policy of spoliation and of oppression must give way to a policy of co-operation. He declared also the right of the black race to rise as well as the others, a thing moreover which it was in process of doing, and, he added, since the colonies in the heart of Africa are not adapted to white civilization, it is in the interest of the whites to have healthy and well instructed workers there. It was necessary, he said, that colonization, which up to this time was carried on for the profit of the white man, should also be made profitable to the black man, and 'if you are not willing to co-operate in our advance, we shall advance just the same without you and in spite of you.' This was the one note of violence which was heard, but we must take account of the circumstances and must remember that the Portuguese Congo was one of the main countries where slaves were procured and that at this very moment they are still searching for laborers for San Thomé, an island, which is a veritable charnel-house for Negroes."

One striking instance of the growing feeling of kinship between all the dark races was that an East Indian (Mr. Varma) spoke in the interest of East Africa. The London *African World* reports:

"Mr. Varma stated that the Africans of East Africa had delegated him to represent their grievances before the Colonial Office and any societies. On the basis that Europeans in Kenya had argued that to permit Indians to have the vote would be to injure the rights of the natives, he said that the Likipia reserve transfer, the eighty-four days' forced labor—which he called the 'back to slavery' policy—the suggested reduction of natives' wages from six rupees a month, the vote for education for the children of 3,000,000 natives of one-fifth of the sum allocated to the children of 9,000 Europeans, showed how Europeans safeguarded the rights of natives. If the Congress wanted to watch the interests of Africans in East Africa, he said, now was the time to do it."

The American delegates, according to the Scottish *Glasgow Herald,* did not always confine themselves to the sufferings of American Negroes—there was also progress to be reported:

"Miss Fauset, of Philadelphia, literary editor of THE CRISIS, spoke on the subject of the colored women in America, who, she said, had been a great moving force behind all the movements for emancipation. Colored women had taken up social work in the great cities of America, and were rescuing many girls who came into the cities from other parts, and who, through their ignorance, might otherwise be exploited. Colored women were everywhere branching out into every field of activity in the professions and in business. She asked the African delegates to carry a message of friendship and encouragement to African women from the colored women of America."

The London *Times* gives a very fair idea of the program in Brussels:

"Mme. Curtis dealt with the state of affairs in Liberia. The president of the Congress, M. Diagne, pointed out the significance of the fact that Liberia is included among the signatories to the Treaty of Versailles. He declared that the Entente had specifically recognized the equality of the white and colored races by admitting a Negro representative to the negotiations.

"M. Barthélémy, Deputy for Arras, laid stress upon the necessity for sending more doctors, teachers, and missionaries to the colonies, and fewer officials. Miss Fauset described the progress made in America by the establishment of schools for colored people. M. Panda, a delegate from the Belgian Congo, protested against the calumnies published in the German press concerning the black troops belonging to the Army of Occupation in Germany.

"After the session had ended an 'African Room' for Colonial exhibits was opened in the World Palace."

All the newspapers wrote at length on Dr. DuBois, who was generally recognized as the moving spirit of the Congress. The correspondent of the London *Challenge* writes:

"The question that was most frequently asked by visitors to the Congress was whether Dr. DuBois agreed with the flamboyant and threatening 'All-Black' policy of Mr. Marcus Garvey. He told me that, while he was in accord with Garvey's main aspiration, he repudiated his methods, which, he thought, were lacking in plain sense, and he questioned the soundness of his financial enterprises."

The Belgian *Écho de la Bourse* thinks General Smuts would choose his words carefully in the presence of the American leader:

"Dr. DuBois, head of the American delegation, is an intellectual of mark. He gave us an exact account of the lamentable conditions throughout the world.

"General Smuts would never dare declare in the presence of Dr. DuBois as he did in the presence of the London correspondent of the *Belgian Star* and of *The Neptune*, that we would do well to send our colonial officials to stay a while in South Africa in order to learn how to treat black people.

"Whether or not you like M. Burghardt DuBois, whether or not you agree with his program, you have to bow to his brilliant intellect and his devotion to the black race."

Speaking of the resolutions drawn up by Dr. DuBois and presented at all three sittings of the Congress, Felicien Challaye, delegate from the *Bureau International pour la Defense des Indigènes*, says in *Les Cahiers:*

"Such is the program developed by M. DuBois. It seems to me to take into account all the realities and all the possibilities, to present that mingling of realism and of idealism which characterizes great political thought."

The Belgian *Indépendance Belge* apologizes for the indifference of the whites toward the affairs of the black world:

"The session (of the Pan-African Congress) has caused no little surprise. It has even given rise to some erroneous interpretations. We know so little of the black world outside of that of the African colonial, in our political preoccupation, it holds certainly less place than that of the Mussulmans who are near at hand or that of the more distant Oriental. However 'geocentric' we may be in our conception of the physical world, we remain 'white centric' with regard to the human societies which live on our planet.

"A parallel between the progress wrought since emancipation by the blacks of the United States and the serfs of Russia (liberated two years earlier) points to an advance more than twice as great on the part of the Negroes from the economic as well as the intellectual point of view and what has taken place in the United States has also taken place in the Antilles and in many a South American state."

Even France, the much-vaunted friend of the blacks, is not entirely blameless. M. Challaye says frankly in *Les Cahiers*, which is the official organ of the "Société Des Droits de L'Homme," the organization that freed Dreyfus:

"It is true that a black élite is, in France, given equal treatment, but the mass of natives in the colonies of France as well as in those of the other powers is too often subjected to a régime of tyranny and of spoliation. I personally recalled to the Pan-African Congress the plight of the natives of the French Congo ever since the time the régime of the great concessionary companies had been imposed upon them."

It is pleasant to realize that these delegates in the midst of their warfare for right and justice took advantage of this occasion to honor the dead. The London *African World* says of their stay in Paris:

"Between the afternoon and evening sessions a wreath was placed by the delegates on the grave of the unknown French soldier buried under the Arch of Triumph—a beautiful and impressive ceremony."

So the Second Pan-African Congress came to an impressive end. It made plain to the world not only what it thought of the members of its own race, but pretty plainly what it thought of the members of others. The London *Punch* points it out shrewdly:

"'NO ETERNALLY INFERIOR RACES'

"Headlines in The Times.

"No, but in the opinion of our colored brothers, some infernally superior ones."

110 DELEGATES TO THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS BY COUNTRIES

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United States of America

R. P. Sims, Bluefield, W. Va.
West Virginia Teachers' Association.
H. A. Hunt, Fort Valley, Ga.,
Ga. Ass'n Advancement Negro Education.
G. R. Hutto, Bainbridge, Ga.,
Knights of Pythias.
Mrs. A. E. Hutto.
P. F. Haynes, St. Joseph, Mo.,
Odd Fellows.
Dr. Henry R. Butler, Atlanta, Ga.,
Ancient Free Masons.
H. R. Butler, Jr., Atlanta, Ga.,
Mrs. Viola Hart Felton, Americus, Ga.,
Eastern Star.
Lydia G. Brown, Washington, D. C.,
Dunbar High School.
Florence Kelley, New York City,
N. A. A. C. P.
Rev. W. H. Jernagin, Washington, D. C.
National Race Congress of America.
Jessie Fauset, New York City,
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.
William S. Nelson, New York City,
Omega Psi Phi Fraternity.
Dr. A. Wilberforce Williams, Chicago, Ill.,
Chicago Defender Pub. Co.
Bishop C. H. Phillips, Nashville, Tenn.,
C. M. E. Church.
Bishop John Hurst, Baltimore, Md.,
A. M. E. Church.
Mrs. John Hurst.
Dr. R. T. Brown, Birmingham, Ala.,
C. M. E. Church.
Dr. C. H. Phillips, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.,
Missouri Negro Republican League Club.
Mrs. C. H. Phillips, Jr.
Mrs. H. R. Butler, Atlanta, Ga.,
Colored Parent-Teachers' Association.
Miss Lavinia Black, New York City.
Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Spingarn,
N. A. A. C. P.
C. H. Tobias, New York City,
International Committee, Y. M. C. A.
Bishop Cary and Mrs. Cary, Chicago, Ill.,
A. M. E. Church.
Mrs. French, St. Louis, Mo.
R. R. Wright, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.,
A. M. E. Church.
Capt. and Mrs. N. B. Marshall,
Walter F. White, New York City,
N. A. A. C. P.
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, New York City,
N. A. A. C. P.

England

Dr. John Alcindor and wife
Alice Werner
George Lattimore
Ruth Fisher
Dr. F. Hoggan
Robert Broadhurst
Mrs. Fisher Unwin
J. R. Archer, ex-Mayor of Battersea
Roland Hayes
Rev. Mr. A. M. Chirgwin
Rev. Mr. Frank Lenwood

France

Deputy Barthélémy
Félicien Challaye
Mrs. Ida Gibbs Hunt
Sénateur Aubert
Dr. George Jackson
Rayford Logan
Mme. L. Chapoteau
Mrs. Charles Young

Belgium

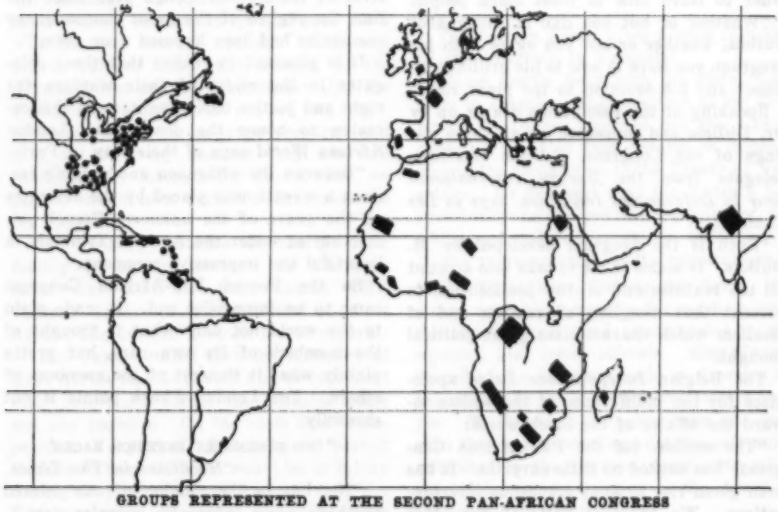
Paul Otlet
General Gillain
Jean Baugniet
Sénateur La Fontaine

Belgian Congo

Paul Panda
Members of Union Congolaise (18)
Madame Soroléa

Sierra Leone

Mr. Sutton
Dr. Ojo Olaribigbe
Rev. Mr. E. G. Granville



GROUPS REPRESENTED AT THE SECOND PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Guadeloupe

Gratien Candace
Isaac Béton

Abyssinia

Dr. Vitellian

India

Mr. Saklatvala
Mr. Judhava
I. Ghous

Portuguese Africa (5 provinces)

Nicolas de Santos-Pinto, of the *Liga Africana.*

Portugal

José de Magalhaes, President of the *Liga Africana*

Morocco

Mr. Arnold

Spain

General Luis Sorelas

Denmark

Edward F. Frazier

Madagascar

Jean Razaief

Haiti

Dantés Bellegarde
Villius Gervais

Grenada

Albert Marryshow

Jamaica

Nathan S. Russell

British Guiana

Mr. Callender

Southern Nigeria

Ibidunni Morondipe Obadende
Dr. Peter Thomas

South Africa

Mrs. Davis
Mr. and Mrs. John L. Dube, representing Natal.

Senegal

Blaise Diagne

Liberia

Liberian Consul to Brussels
Mrs. Helen Curtis

East Africa

Norman Leys
Mr. Banda
V. S. Varma

Gold Coast

J. Eldred Taylor
W. T. Hutchinson

Nigeria

Rev. W. B. Mark

Other persons were present from Swaziland, Jamaica, Martinique, French Congo, Trinidad, the Philippines and Liberia; and in addition to these there were at least 1,000 visitors.

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF LABOR OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Sir:

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the address to the League of Nations, voted for by the Second Pan-African Congress, which met in London, Brussels and Paris, the 28th, 29th and 31st of August and the 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 6th of September, 1921, a copy which you were kind enough to send me on the 15th of last September through the International Bureau for the Defense of Natives.

This address contains the following resolution which is of special interest to the International Bureau of Labor. *"The second Pan-African Congress asks that in the International Bureau of Labor a section be set aside to deal particularly and in detail with the conditions and needs of native labor, especially in Africa and elsewhere. This Congress earnestly believes that the labor problems of the world can never be understood or completely solved so long as colored, and especially black, labor is enslaved and neglected. The Congress believes furthermore that the first step toward the emancipation of labor throughout the world would be the organization of a thorough investigation into native labor."*

I learned of this resolution with the utmost interest because it set before the International Bureau of Labor the entire problem of the protection of native laborers and especially of Negro laborers. This matter of protection indeed has been one of the principal preoccupations of this institution ever since its inception.

The International Bureau of Labor has always considered it its duty to protect laborers without making any race distinction and indeed that its protection ought to extend especially to those men who are subjected to the most inhuman conditions of labor, as is the case of a large number of native peoples, particularly of black peoples. The principle of the equality of races in the matter of protection which it pretends to afford laborers is with the International Bureau of Labor a first principle. In proof of this see the preamble and article 427 of part 13 of the Peace Treaty.

Although it is true that in this matter as in many others the International Bureau of Labor can interfere only with the greatest difficulty because of the difficulties presented by the very diversity of the governing nations, and although, in general, it has no other weapon than recourse to public opinion, still the International Bureau of Labor is not entirely without some means of protecting native labor.

The first of these is revealed in article

421 of the Peace Treaty, the tenor of which is as follows:

"The members promise to put into practice the agreements (covenants, articles, etc.) of which they shall have approved, conformably to the stipulations of the present part of the present treaty, to those of their colonies or possessions, and to those of their protectorates which have not complete self-government, with the following reservations:

1. That the agreement should not be rendered inapplicable by local conditions.

2. That the modifications necessary to adapt the agreement to local conditions shall be introduced into the latter (the agreement).

Each of the members will have to notify the International Bureau of Labor of the decision which it proposes to make with regard to each of its colonies or possessions or its protectorates which does not have complete self-government."

On that day six members ratified, completely or in part, the Agreements of the Washington Conference, namely: Finland, Great Britain, Greece, India, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia. . . . .

In accordance with article 408 of this same Treaty, the International Bureau of Labor has sent to the British government a formula for an annual report, inviting it (the British government) to make known the measures taken or envisaged by it for putting into execution one of the agreements which it had already ratified . . . .

But native labor should be protected not only in the colonies or protectorates of the nations possessing colonies, but also among the people who are to comply, according to the Peace Treaty, with the régime of the Mandates.

Here again the International Bureau of Labor obtained through the organ of the International Bureau of Labor, through negotiations with the League of Nations (an account of which you will find in the copy of the Official Bulletin which I am sending with this letter), the right to be represented by an expert of its choosing in the permanent Commission of Mandates established by article 22 in the Peace Treaty.

Thanks to this representation, the International Bureau of Labor will have also under its jurisdiction the whole ensemble of the laboring world; and native peoples, even those suffering from the most inhuman treatment, may have the certainty of being protected.

The resolution which you sent me shows that the second Pan-African Congress has completely realized that the first step in bringing about the gradual emancipation of native labor is to keep public opinion informed by a meticulous system of presentation of the actual conditions which control this labor at the present time, not only in the colonies and protectorates of the European nations, but also in the territories placed according to the régime of the Mandates under the tutelage of the League of Nations. The resolution also points out the means of carrying on this inquiry continuously, namely, the establishment in the International Bureau of Labor of a section whose special duty shall be the detailed consideration of the conditions and needs of native laborers in Africa and elsewhere.

I am dwelling on this interesting suggestion all the more because for some months past I myself have been trying to bring it to fruition. I have had to renounce this project temporarily for lack of a sufficiently large personnel. Today re-established in my intention through the resolution of the Pan-African Congress, I am going to take up the idea again and try in the near future to establish a section of Native Labor. Naturally the budget at my disposal is still limited and the section cannot have at its inception a complete development. Nevertheless, I am sure that eventually I shall be able to extend its limits to meet the really considerable task which it will have to handle. At present an official of the Scientific Division is going to be charged with following up the conditions of native, and particularly of Negro labor. I will let you know at some future date the name of this official who furthermore will be instructed to establish relations between the International Bureau of Labor and you on the one hand, and with the International Bureau for the Defense of Aborigines on the other.

I shall take great pleasure in seeing these relations develop into a closely welded, reliable and cordial collaboration and it is in that hope that I am extending to you the assurance of my complete regard.

ALBERT THOMAS.

National · Association · for · the · ... Advancement · of · Colored · People.

A FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING BILL!

THE ten-year fight of the N. A. A. C. P., for a Federal Anti-lynching bill, has reached its most successful and most critical point. On October 20, the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives reported out favorably the Dyer Anti-lynching bill H. R. 13. This action was taken after the bill had been amended and approved by the Attorney-General, removing some of the defects which might have caused it to be attacked on constitutional grounds after its passage.

The fight has reached the stage where we must bring to bear every possible bit of pressure on Congress as a whole and on individual Congressmen to force action immediately and favorably on this necessary legislation. The National Office of the N. A. A. C. P., through its four hundred branches and through other organizations, is seeking to have thousands of telegrams and letters pour in upon Congress to show the nationwide sentiment behind the bill, which is demanding its passage by Congress. Every Negro in America and every white person who is opposed to the crime of lynching should immediately send a telegram to his or her representative. Letters are valuable, but telegrams are more impressive. We must let Congress know that the failure to pass the Dyer bill will be regarded as a betrayal. We must let every representative in Congress know that a vote against the Dyer bill is a vote in favor of lynching.

Act now! Send a telegram today! Urge your friends to do the same! Be sure to mention the bill by name and by number! With our united strength we can cause the Dyer bill to be made a law and thus end mob rule in America!

As we go to press we hear that Henry Lincoln Johnson and Perry W. Howard have drafted amendments to the Dyer bill which will ruin its effectiveness. Demand the unamended Dyer bill.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be held in the East Room of the Sage Foundation, 130 East Twenty-second Street, New York City, on the afternoon of Monday, January 2, 1922, at two o'clock. There will be reports from officers and branches, and the nominations for directors will be voted upon.

The Nominating Committee for members of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reports these nominees for terms expiring December 31, 1924:

E. Burton Ceruti, Esq., Los Angeles, Cal.
Mr. George W. Crawford, New Haven, Conn.
Bishop John Hurst, Baltimore, Md.
Mr. Paul Kennaday, New York City.
Mr. Joseph Prince Loud, Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Ella Rush Murray, Catskill, N. Y.
Dr. W. A. Sinclair, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Neval H. Thomas, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Charles H. Studin, New York City.
Rev. G. R. Waller, Springfield, Mass.
Butler R. Wilson, Esq., Boston, Mass.

The Nominating Committee:
DR. V. MORTON JONES, *Chairman*
DR. GEORGE E. CANNON.
MR. JOEL E. SPINGARN.

THE LIBELOUS FILM

IT will be remembered that Miss Katheryn Johnson, Mesdames Helen Curtis and Laura Rollock, and Messrs. Edward Frazier and Lleyellyn Rollock were arrested last June, for distributing handbills attacking the "Birth of a Nation." The N. A. A. C. P. undertook their defense. They were given suspended sentences in the Magistrate's Court and appealed their cases. Judge Talley of the Court of General Sessions has just reversed their conviction, saying:

"In the opinion of this Court, the defendants were well within their rights in distributing the circulars in question, and the

complaint against them should have been dismissed. I hold that the ordinance in question was never intended to prevent the lawful distribution of anything other than commercial and business advertising matter, and the circular in question does not come within that category. It would be a dangerous and un-American thing to sustain an interpretation of a city ordinance which would prohibit the free distribution by a body of citizens of a pamphlet setting forth their views against what they believed to be a movement subversive of their rights as citizens."

This is not only a victory for the N. A. A. C. P., but for freedom of speech as well, and it was won by two colored attorneys, Aiken A. Pope and James C. Thomas.

GETHSEMANE AND ARKANSAS

IN all the disgraceful record of America's denial of even simple justice to her colored citizens, there is no greater example than that of Arkansas in her efforts to put to death twelve innocent men who are accused of participation in the Phillips County riots of October, 1919. In THE CRISIS for November was told how lawyers employed by the N. A. A. C. P. to defend the men had applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was granted by the United States District Court of the Eastern District of Arkansas, to prevent the execution of the six men who were to die on September 23, 1921. Since that time, a demurrer to that writ was filed, and that demurrer was sustained, automatically dismissing the writ of *habeas corpus*, annulling the stay of execution. Attorneys for the defendants thereupon filed an appeal to the United States Supreme Court, basing their appeal on an assignment of errors. Honorable John H. Cotteral, United States District Judge in Arkansas, granted this appeal, stating in his decision that "the . . . petitioners . . . having filed their assignment of errors and the court being of the opinion that there exists probable cause for an appeal in this cause, the appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States is allowed."

As a result we have finally reached the last court of resort, where we are confident of victory.

The petition for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which includes the errors mentioned above, is so illuminating a document and so clear a statement of the cases, that we are printing it in full. Because of its length, one-half of it is being given in the present issue and the remainder will be printed in the January issue of THE CRISIS.

The N. A. A. C. P., together with local organizations in Arkansas, have been fighting against the combined strength of forces of prejudice in that Southern State. We have expended to date $11,249.39. We are obligated to pay an additional $2,500. Our balance on hand is less than $200 with which to meet this account. We sincerely urge you to read carefully this amazing document which portrays so clearly the vicious methods which have been used in the attempt to murder these innocent men.

Having read this document, we urgently appeal to you to forward a contribution, making it as large as possible, to aid us in our efforts to free these men.

THE ARKANSAS PEONS

A brief prepared by Scipio Jones reviewing the case for presentation to the Supreme Court of the United States.

YOUR petitioners, Frank Moore, Ed. Hicks, J. E. Knox, Ed. Coleman and Paul Hall, state that they are citizens and residents of the State of Arkansas, and are now residing in Little Rock, confined in the Arkansas State Penitentiary, in the Western Division of the Eastern District of Arkansas, within the jurisdiction of this court; that the defendant is the keeper of the said Arkansas State Penitentiary, and as such is unlawfully restraining your petitioners of their liberty, and will, unless prevented from so doing by the issuance of the writ herein prayed for, deprive them of their life on the 23rd day of Sept., 1921, in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and the Constitution and laws of the State of Arkansas.

Petitioners further say that they are Negroes, of African descent, black in color,

and that prior to the times hereinafter mentioned were citizens and residents of Phillips County, Arkansas, at Elaine; that on the —— day of October, 1919, they were arrested, placed in the Phillips County jail and thereafter until their trial were kept in close confinement upon an alleged charge of murder in the first degree for the killing of one Clinton Lee, a white man, said to have occurred on the 1st day of October, 1919; that said Clinton Lee was killed, as they are informed, while a member of a posse of white men who were said to be attempting to quell a race riot, growing out of the killing of W. A. Adkins on the night of September 30, 1919, at Hoop Spur in said County and State; that said Adkins was killed, as they are advised, under these circumstances and conditions: Petitioners and a large number of the members of their race were peaceably and lawfully assembled in their church house at or near Hoop Spur, with no unlawful purpose in view, and with no desire or purpose to injure or do any wrong to any one; that while they were thus assembled, white persons began firing guns or pistols from the outside into and through said church house, through the windows and shooting the lights out therein, causing a great disturbance and stampede of those assembled therein; that the white persons so firing on said church came there in automobiles, of which there were several, and came for the purpose of breaking up said meeting; that said Adkins was killed either by members of his own party or by some other persons unknown to your petitioners; that the white men sent out the word to Helena, the county seat, that said Adkins had been killed by the Negroes, shot down in cold blood while on a peaceable mission, by an armed force of Negroes, assembled at the church, which caused great excitement all over the City of Helena and Phillips County; that the report of said killing spread like wild-fire into other counties, all over the State of Arkansas, and into other States, notably the State of Mississippi; that early the next day a large number of white men of said County armed themselves and rushed to the scene of he trouble and to adjacent regions, the vicinity of Elaine being one of them, and began the indiscriminate hunting down, shooting and killing of Negroes; that in a short time white men from adjoining counties and from the State of Mississippi likewise armed themselves, rushed to the scene of the trouble and began the indiscriminate shooting down of Negroes, both men and women, particularly the posse from the State of Mississippi, who shot down in cold blood innocent Negro men and women, many of whom were at the time in the fields picking cotton; that highly inflammable articles were published in the press of Arkansas and especially of Helena and throughout the United States, in which the trouble was variously called a "race riot," "an uprising of the Negroes," and a "deliberately planned insurrection among the Negroes against the whites" of that part of Phillips County; that the officers of Phillips County, especially the Sheriff, called upon the Governor of the State, and the Governor in turn called upon the Commanding Officer at Camp Pike for a large number of the United States soldiers to assist the citizens in quelling the so-called "race riot", "uprising", or "insurrection"; that a company of soldiers was dispatched to the scene of the trouble who took charge of the situation and finally succeeded in stopping the slaughter.

Your petitioners further say that they, together with a large number of their race, both men and women, were taken to the Phillips County jail, at Helena, incarcerated therein and charged with murder; that a committee of seven, composed of leading Helena business men and officials, to wit: Sebastian Straus, Chairman; H. D. Moore, County Judge; F. F. Kitchens, Sheriff; J. G. Knight, Mayor; E. M. A. Lien, J. E. Horner and T. W. Keese, was selected for the purpose of probing into the situation and picking out those to be condemned to death and those to be condemned and sentenced to the penitentiary; that said Committee assumed charge of the matter and proceeded to have brought before them a large number of those incarcerated in jail and examined them regarding their own connection and the connection of others charged with participation in said trouble; that if evidence unsatisfactory to said Committee was not given they would be sent out and certain of their keepers would take them to a room in the jail which was immediately adjoining, and a part of the Court House building where said Committee was sitting, and torture them by beating and whipping them with leather straps with metal in them, cut-

ting the blood at every lick until the victims would agree to testify to anything their torturers demanded of them; that there was also provided in said jail, to frighten and torture them, an electric chair, in which they would be put naked and the current turned on to shock and frighten them into giving damaging statements against themselves and others, also strangling drugs were put up their noses for the same purpose and by these methods and means false evidence was extorted from Negroes to be used and was used against your petitioners.

Petitioners further say that on every day from October 1, until after their trial on November 3, 1919, the press of Helena and the State of Arkansas carried inflammatory articles giving accounts of the trouble, which were calculated to arouse and did arouse bitter feeling against your petitioners and the other members of their race;

. . . that shortly after being placed in jail, a mob was formed in the City of Helena, composed of hundreds of men, who marched to the county jail for the purpose and with the intent of lynching your petitioners and others, and would have done so but for the interference of United States soldiers and the promise of some of said Committee and other leading officials that if the mob would stay its hand they would execute those found guilty in the form of law.

Petitioners further state that prior to October 1, 1919, they were farmers and share croppers; that nearly all the land in Phillips County is owned by white men; that some is rented out to share croppers to be tilled on shares, one-half to the tenant and the other half to the owner; that some years past there has grown up a system among the land owners of furnishing the Negro tenants supplies on which to make crops and which is calculated to deprive and does deprive the Negro tenants of all their interest in the crops produced by them; that in pursuance of this system, they refused to give the share croppers any itemized statement of account of their indebtedness for supplies so furnished, refused to let them move or sell any part of their crops, but themselves sell and dispose of the same at such prices as they please, and then give to the Negroes no account thereof, pay them only such amount as they wish, and in this way keep them down, poverty stricken and effectually under their control; that for the purpose of protecting themselves, if possible, against the oppressive and ruinous effects of this system, the Negro farmers organized societies, with the view of uniting their financial resources in moral and legal measures to overcome the same, which fact became quickly known to the plantation owners; that such owners were bitterly opposed to such societies, sought to prevent their organization, ordered the members to discontinue their meeting and sought by every means they could employ to disrupt them; that on the 30th day of September, 1919, petitioners and other members of the Ratio Lodge, near Elaine, learned that some of the Negro farmers of a nearby plantation had employed U. S. Bratton, an attorney of Little Rock, Arkansas, to represent them in effecting a settlement for them with their landlords, or, if he could not, to institute legal proceedings to protect their interests, and that either he, or his representative, would be there on the following day to meet with all parties concerned, perfect the arrangements, and learn all the facts as far as possible, and decided to hold a meeting with the view of seeing him while there, and engaging him as an attorney to protect their interest; that accordingly they met that night in the Hoop Spur church, which resulted, as hereinbefore set out, in the killing of said Adkins and the breaking up of said meeting: that on the morning of October 1, Mr. O. S. Bratton, son and agent of Attorney U. S. Bratton, arrived in Elaine for consultation with those who might desire to employ his father, was arrested, hardly escaped being mobbed, notwithstanding it was well known that he was there only for the purpose of advising with those Negroes as to their rights, and getting from them such facts as would enable his father intelligently to prepare for their legal rights; that he was carried thence to the County jail, thrown into it and kept closely confined on a charge of murder until the 31st day of the same month, when he was indicted on a charge of barratry, without any evidence to sustain the charge; that on that day he was told by officials that he would be discharged, but not to go on the public streets anywhere, to keep the matter a secret, to leave

secretly in a closed automobile and to go to West Helena, four miles away, and there take the train, so as to avoid being mobbed; that he was told he would be mobbed, or would be in great danger of being mobbed if his release became known publicly before he was out of reach; that the Judge of the Circuit Court, the Judge of the same court before whom petitioners were tried, facilitated the secret departure and himself went to West Helena and there remained until he had seen said Bratton safely on the train and the train departed.

Petitioners further say that the Circuit Court of Phillips County convened on October 27, 1919; that a grand jury was organized composed wholly of white men, one of whom, W. W. Keese, was a member of the said Committee of Seven, and many of whom were in the posse organized to fight the Negroes; that during its sessions, petitioners and many others of the prisoners were frequently carried before it in an effort to extract from them false incriminating admissions and to testify against each other, and that both before and after, they were frequently whipped, beaten and tortured; that those in charge of them had some way of learning when the evidence was unsatisfactory to the grand jury, and this was always followed by beating and whipping; that by these methods, some of the Negro prisoners were forced to testify against others, two against your petitioners, though no one could truthfully testify against them; that on October 29, 1919, a joint indictment was returned against petitioners accusing them of the murder of said Clinton Lee, a man petitioners did not know and had never, to their knowledge, even seen; that thereafter on the 3rd day of November, 1919, petitioners were taken into the court room before the judge told of the charge, and were informed that a certain lawyer was appointed to defend them; that they were given no opportunity to employ an attorney of their own choice; that the appointed attorney did not consult with them, took no steps to prepare for their defense, asked nothing about their witnesses, though there were many who knew that petitioners had nothing to do with the killing of said Lee; that they were immediately placed on joint trial before an exclusively white jury and the trial closed so far as the evidence was concerned with the State's witnesses alone; that after the court's instructions, the jury retired just long enough to write a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree, as charged, and returned with it into court—not being out exceeding two or three minutes, and they were promptly sentenced to death by electrocution on December 27, 1919.

Petitioners further say that during the course of said trial, which lasted less than an hour, that only two witnesses testified to anything to connect them in any way with the killing of said Clinton Lee; that said witnesses were Walter Ward and John Jefferson, both of whom are Negroes and were under indictment at the same time for the killing of said Lee; that they were compelled to testify against them by the same methods and means hereinbefore described; that their testimony was wholly false and that they gave such testimony through fear of torture and were further told that if they refused to testify they would be killed, but that if they did so testify, and would plead guilty their punishment would be light; that they thereafter pleaded guilty to murder in the second degree and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment; that they attach hereto the affidavits of each of said witnesses showing the falsity of their testimony and the means of its acquisition.

Petitioners further say that large crowds of white people bent on petitioners' condemnation and death thronged the courthouse and grounds and streets of Helena all during the trial of petitioners and the other Negro defendants; that on account of the great publicity given theirs and the other cases, on account of their being charged with connection with an insurrection against the white people, and that four or five white men were killed, on account of the fact that they are Negroes, and those who run the court, the Judge upon the bench, the Sheriff, the Clerk and all the jurors are white men, on account of the fact that it was stated and widely published that the purpose of the Negroes was to kill the whites and take their property, and on account of all the race prejudice which normally exists and which was enhanced a thousandfold at the time, by bitterness beyond expression, it was impossible for them to get a fair and impartial trial in said court before a jury of white men; that the attorney appointed to defend them knew that the preju-

dice against them was such that they could not get a fair and impartial trial before a white jury of said county, yet he filed no petition for a change of venue, did not ask the court for time to prepare for a defense, and did nothing to protect their interests; that the court did not ask them whether they had counsel, or desired to employ counsel, or were able to do so, but simply said a lawyer, whom he named, would defend them; that they have, therefore, not had a trial, have had no opportunity to make a defense but that their case was closed against them as virtually and effectually as if on a plea of guilty; that if they had been given the opportunity they would have employed counsel of their own choice and have made a defense, their ability to do so having been demonstrated since their conviction; that the feeling against petitioners was such that it overawed the Judge on the bench, the jury, the attorney appointed to defend them and every one connected with said court; that all, Judge, jury and counsel, were dominated by the mob spirit that was universally present in court and out, so that if any juror had had the courage to investigate said charge with any spirit of fairness, and vote for an acquittal, he, himself, would have been the victim of the mob; that such was the intensity of feeling against petitioners and the other defendants, that had counsel for them objected to the testimony of the two witnesses against them said Wards, Green and Jefferson, on the ground that it was extorted by beating and torture, as they are advised he should have done, he himself would have been the victim of the mob; that it is possible counsel did not know how the evidence against them was obtained, and they do not desire to appear to criticize him, yet he knew that if the evidence against them was acquired as before stated, it was incompetent and should have been excluded, a fact which petitioners did not know, that petitioners were ignorant of their rights, had never been in court before, and had counsel asked them about this testimony they would have told him how it was obtained, that through fear of the mob spirit no witness was called in their behalf and they themselves were advised not to take the stand on their own behalf; that as a result of the mob domination of court, counsel and jury, the court, although a court of original jurisdiction in felony cases, lost its jurisdiction by virtue of such mob domination and the result was but an empty ceremony, carried through in the apparent form of law, and that the verdict of the jury was really a mob verdict, dictated by the spirit of the mob and pronounced and returned because no other verdict would have been tolerated, and that the judgment against them is, therefore, a nullity.

(To be continued in January)

KUTTAN, THE SOUL

CORALIE HOWARD HAMAN

I.

I AM the joyous dancer, the strong leaper,
I am the Soul;
I am the perfect Whole.
Joy-bringer am I and still the body's keeper.

I live within that prison dark and still,
But when dawns Death,
I go upon the breath,
Like sun and flowing wind on a high hill.

Through joy and sorrow, ecstasy and pain
Of every day,
Through life I go my way—
From God I come; to God I go again.

II.

Like to a bird, a butterfly, a cloud, a smoke,
a shadow
Am I, the Soul.
In dreams, in sleep, I leave the tired body,
And go forth until the dawn,
Upon the wind;
When my body wakes, I come back to it.

A time will come when my body will not
wake,
Then I shall go free
To dance in sparkling sunbeams in the air,
And fly among the clouds,
That surge and tower;
Leap down into the ocean's deepest water,
And then whirl up and up and up to highest Heaven and God.

THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE

LANGSTON HUGHES

AFTER the coming of the Spaniards, who brought priests and missionaries, as well as soldiers to conquer Mexico, most of the subdued Indians were converted to the faith of the Catholics. The ancient Indian temples to barbaric gods were torn down by the Europeans who built new Christian churches in their stead. Thus it came about that the brown men learned to worship the saints and idols brought by the invaders and so forgot their old gods.

One day a pious follower of the Spaniards' faith, Juan Diego by name, was returning from mass across the hill of Guadalupe, when suddenly a veiled figure, all light and beauty, appeared before him. The poor Indian was much astonished and filled with surprise when the woman spoke to him and commanded in a soft voice that he go to the bishop and tell His Excellence to construct a church on the hill where the figure was standing. This Juan did, or attempted to do, but the bishop's servants, thinking the man a common, ignorant Indian, would not give him admission to the house, so Juan Diego went back.

For a second time the vision appeared before him, issuing the same command in her beautiful voice, so the Indian returned in search of the bishop. Each time, however, he was refused an entry but the vision told him to persevere. Finally, after many days, he was admitted and the old father asked him what he wished. When Juan Diego told of the beautiful spirit and her message, the bishop could not believe such a tale and thought perhaps that the poor fellow was demented. At last he told the Indian that he would have to bring some sign or token of proof in support of his strange words.

Once more the man returned to the hill and there at its foot the bright vision reappeared. Hearing the message that the bishop had sent, she said, "Pluck those flowers there at your feet." But Juan Diego, standing on the bare and rocky earth, asked, "What flowers?" Then suddenly looking down he saw the ground covered with white blossoms which he began to pick and with which he filled his small woven *tilma* or mantle, used to wrap about his shoulders on cold mornings.

Then he went to the bishop and said, "Here is your sign." Opening the mantle the white flowers rolled out at their feet. The bishop looked, but still more marvellous than the flowers, the surprised priest saw, painted on the mantle where the blossoms had been, the figure of the Virgin surrounded by a halo of light. "This," he said, "is surely the proof." So they proceeded to erect the church on the top of the hill. Later a magnificent cathedral was built at its foot where the *tilma* bearing the picture of the Virgin is preserved to this day above the altar and on the spot where the vision first appeared, a spring of water gushed forth and is now covered by a pretty shrine where people may stop to drink.

Once a year a great *fiesta* is held in honor of this patron saint of Mexico and many people come from far away to visit her. Any day when one cares to take a trip out to the stately church where she is housed near Mexico City, her faithful worshippers may be seen going on their knees the long distance from the outside door to the high altar carrying white candles in their hands, crawling up to place them before her—La Virgen de Guadalupe — whose name is known and loved by all Mexico.

Men of the Month.

THE late Mr. Robert Ambrose Caldwell was born in Georgia, in 1843. He was taken to Camp County, Texas, where he later purchased a 340-acre farm and raised cotton, corn, sugar cane, potatoes and fruit. He was the prime factor and largest contributor to the building of West Chapel School in 1879. He was elected Magistrate, but because he was colored he could not get a bondsman. In a county election, however,

he succeeded in helping to elect a candidate for County Judge who promised that, if elected, he would appoint a Negro on the Board of Examiners for Teachers. Joseph W. Anderson of Fisk University was appointed to this position, being the first Negro to hold such an office in northern Texas. Mr. Caldwell served as county and district chairman of the Republican party and attended every State Convention since the days of President Grant, and the National Convention that nominated President McKinley. He served on the Federal Grand and Petit Juries at Jefferson, Tex.

Mr. Caldwell leaves a wife and 15 children, most of whom are teachers in Texas.

DR. HENRY M. MINTON of Philadelphia was graduated from Phillips Exeter Academy in 1891, being Class Day Orator; in 1895 he was graduated from the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and in 1906 the Jefferson Medical College awarded him the degree of M.D. He opened the first colored drug store in Philadelphia and for 7 years he labored 16 hours a day compounding prescriptions. Dr. Minton took charge of the Tuberculosis Clinic for Negroes at the Henry Phipps Institute of the University of Pennsylvania in 1915. The services of two other physicians and 3 social service workers have been added, and there are as many as 25 patients at each clinic. Since 1907 Dr. Minton has been a member of the staff of Mercy Hospital, where he was recently made the Superintendent.

Dr. Minton was born December 25, 1871. His father was a well-known lawyer and his grandfather was one of the most celebrated of the Philadelphia group of colored caterers.

ON January 13, 1847, the late Mr. Loyal F. Friman was born in Oswego, N. Y. He joined the Union Army and was assigned to the First Cavalry, United States Colored Volunteers, remaining until honorably discharged. In 1869 he went to Springfield, Mass., where he accumulated property, and conducted one of the best barber shops in the city; he also served as a letter carrier. Mr. Friman attained the highest rank in the Masonic Order. He was Past Master of Sumner Lodge of Masons and one of the organizers of the T. Thomas Chapter, Royal Arch Masons, and of the Van Horn Commandery, Knights Templar. He was a veteran of the Civil War and a member of Wilcox Post No. 16, Grand Army of the Republic.

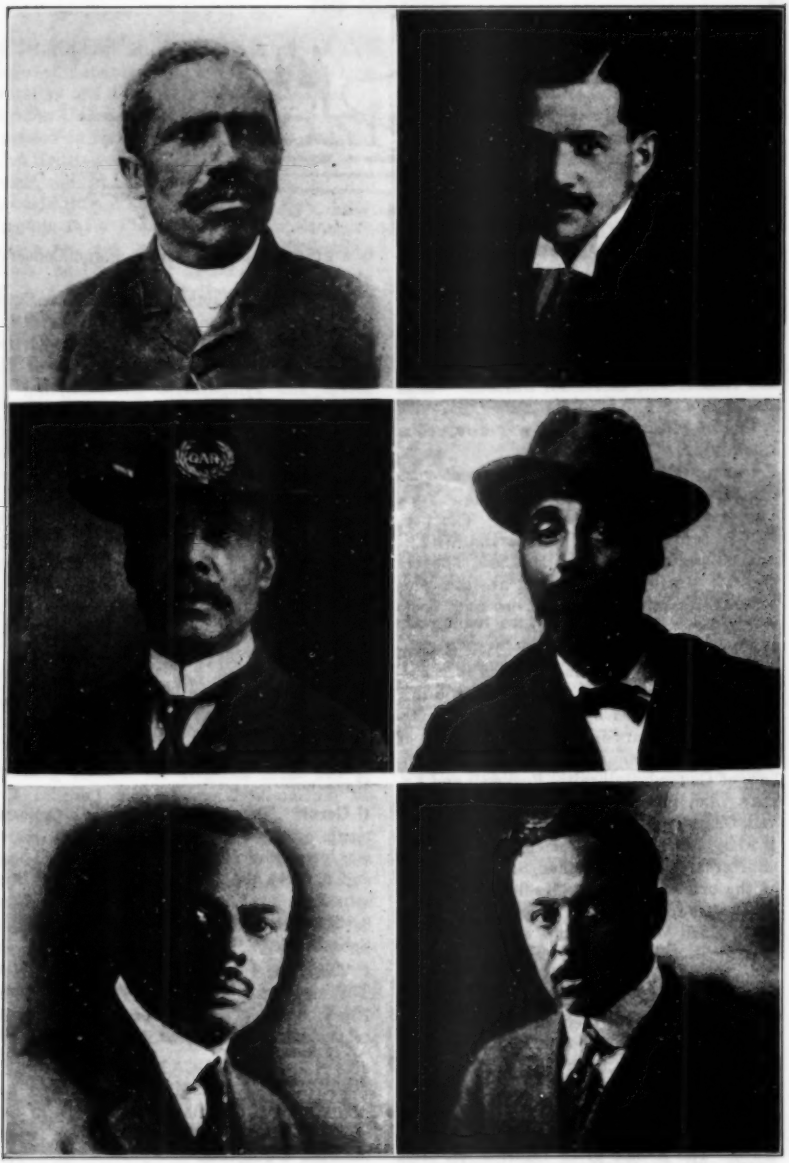
MR. CAL F. JOHNSON was born October 14, 1844, in Knoxville, Tenn. He has accumulated a fortune estimated at over one-quarter million dollars and is the owner of some of the best brick structures in the city and of a race track of almost 100 acres. The City Commission recently purchased a park and playground, paying $35,000 for it, and named it "The Cal F. Johnson Park." Mr. Johnson is a member of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P.

THE late Attorney Gustavus W. Wickliffe was the first Negro lawyer admitted to practice in the courts of California. He was born in Chattanooga, Tenn., in 1869. He was a graduate of Howard High School, Nashville, Tenn., and of the Law School of Howard University. In 1889 he entered the Federal Service, being employed first as a railway mail clerk and later as a clerk in the Post Office Department in Washington.

In Los Angeles, in 1901, Governor Gaze appointed him Clerk of Wharfingers with the State Board of Harbor Commissioners and he served here for seven years.

Attorney Wickliffe held many positions of honor and trust in business and fraternal organizations in Los Angeles. He was a 33rd degree Mason. Besides his widow, he leaves 2 children.

MR. FRANK A. BYRON came to Washington, D. C., from Chicago, Ill., in 1901, with the Hon. Mr. George Edmund Foss, who was Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives. He served as messenger to the Committee for 16 years and for 15 years performed the duties of assistant clerk; at the beginning of the 66th Congress he was appointed assistant clerk by the Hon. Mr. Thomas S. Butler of the 7th Pennsylvania District. On July 6 of this year he was appointed clerk of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives, being the first Negro appointee. His salary is $2,740 per year. Mr. Byron is a graduate of Howard University Law School.



THE LATE ROBERT A. CALDWELL
THE LATE LOYAL F. FRIMAN
FRANK A. BYRON

THE LATE ATTORNEY G. W. WICKLIFFE
CAL F. JOHNSON
DR. HENRY M. MINTON

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

MUSIC AND ART

THE New York *American* says: "Helen Hagan gave a pleasing demonstration in Aeolian Hall of her skill on the piano. More than that, Miss Hagan brought genuine musical feeling to her interpretations and considerable emotional warmth." Miss Hagan is a graduate of the Yale University School of Music, where she was awarded a scholarship.

¶ During October, the colored musical comedy "Shuffle Along," playing in New York City, reached 175 performances. The previous record made by Williams and Walker was 98 performances at the Park Theatre in 1910. Included in the cast are the composers, Messrs. Miller and Lyles and Sissle and Blake.

¶ The faculty of Huntington High School, Newport News, Va., has appeared in a musicale at First African Baptist Church. They were assisted by the High School Orchestra. Numbers included vocal works of Burleigh, Schumann, Nevin; organ numbers of Gounod, Galbraith, Rockwell and Legure; and piano selections of Scharwenka and Chaminade.

¶ Fisk University has celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Jubilee Singers. Four of the original singers—Mable Lewis Imes, of Cleveland; Maggie Porter Cole, of Detroit; Eliza Walker Crump, of Chicago, and Hunter B. Alexander, of Chattanooga, participated. Under the leadership of Prof. George L. White, they toured the world several times; on their first 3 tours in America, they realized $150,000, which was used for the building of Jubilee Hall.

¶ *Musical America* of August 20 contains an article, "Bridgetower, Mulatto Friend of Beethoven," written by Mrs. Maud Cuney Hare. The article gives information from German sources, including letters of Beethoven, hitherto unknown to the English-speaking public.

¶ Louis Jones, violinist, has gone to Paris to continue his musical studies. Mr. Jones is a graduate of the New England Conservatory of Music.

¶ H. Coleridge-Taylor, son of the late Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, has made his dèbut in London as the conductor of an orchestra. A London critic says: "His control of his forces and sympathetic understanding of the music made a favorable impression."

¶ The Choral Club in Atlanta, Ga., has given a concert in the City Auditorium. Negro melodies and classical selections were rendered by the club, which is composed of 240 voices, and an orchestra of 20 pieces. The soloists were Clarence Washington, Robert White, D. Crawford, Lilly Carter, W. J. Trent; the pianists, Florence Harris and Mildred Greenwood; Kemper Harreld was the director. There were 500 white and 2000 colored people in the audience.

¶ William Service Bell, baritone, and E. H. Margetson, pianist, have given a recital for the Y. W. C. A., at Newark, N. J. Included on the program was "Like Stars Which Night Hangs in the Purple Skies," by Mr. Margetson.

¶ Gerald Tyler composed the prologue music of Stevens' Centennial drama, which was presented at the Coliseum in St. Louis, and marked the 100th anniversary of Missouri's annexation to the Union. Mr. Tyler is Supervisor of Music at Sumner High School.

¶ The Pace Phonograph Company of New York is presenting Ethel Waters and the Black Swan Troubadours in a coast to coast tour.

EDUCATION

DR. FRANK G. SMITH, of Chicago, has passed the Illinois State Board of Optometry by a written examination which included 8 subjects.

¶ There are 40 Negro students enrolled at the University of California.

¶ At Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa., there are 7 Negro students, an increase of 5 over the past 2 years.

¶ Dr. Gilbert H. Jones, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts of Wilberforce University, has been asked by authorities of Boston University Graduate School for permission to translate his inaugural dissertation from German into English, for reference use in classes in philosophy. The book is titled "Lotz und Bowne, Eine Vergleigung Ihrer Philosophischen Arbeit." Dr. Jones received the doctorate in Philosophy from the University of Jena, Germany.

¶ In football games, Howard has beaten Virginia Theological Seminary by a 19—0 score; Hampton vs. St. Paul, 25—2; Virginia State Normal vs. St. Augustine, 7—0; Hampton vs. Shaw, 7—6; Talladega vs. Morris Brown, 23—13; Lincoln vs. Morgan, 63—3; Howard vs. Virginia State Normal, 26—0; Howard vs. Shaw, 24—0.

¶ At Lincoln School, Sumter, S. C., there are 13 teachers for an enrollment of nearly 2,000. The Negroes are appealing for relief measures.

¶ Wiley University, Marshall, Tex., has a freshman class of 93 and a senior college class of 29; there are 7 professors devoting full time to college work. Every course for which a degree or diploma is given is recognized by the Texas State Board of Examiners. The School has an enclosed athletic park with a grandstand seating 1,000.

¶ This year the John F. Slater Fund increased its aid in the maintenance of county training schools for Negroes from 107 to 142 schools; the salary lists amount to $550,000.

¶ For the year ending August 31, 1921, there was a total circulation of 108,207 books in the Colored Department of the Louisville Free Public Library. Since its opening, 11 women have been trained for library work. They were sent from libraries at Houston, Tex.; Birmingham, Ala.; Atlanta, Ga.; Evansville, Ind.; Knoxville, Nashville, Memphis and Chattanooga, Tenn. Mr. Thomas F. Blue is head of the Louisville library.

¶ The sum of $1,000,000 has been appropriated by the General Assembly for the support of Negro schools in North Carolina.

¶ Ground has been broken for an athletic field at Hampton Institute. There will be a grandstand, a quarter mile track, a 220-yard straightaway, a football and a baseball field.

¶ Ezekiel H. Miller has been awarded the Master's degree at Columbia University. Mr. Miller is a Federal Board student who has been approved for work leading to the degree of Ph.D. He is a graduate of Howard, 1917, and an ex-soldier of the 351st Field Artillery. His allotment is $1,200 a year.

¶ A secret conference on missionary and educational work among Negroes in Africa and elsewhere has been held at Lake Mohawk, N. Y. The Negro race was represented by Thomas Jesse Jones and R. R. Moton.

¶ Negro college women in southeast Virginia have established Lambda Chapter of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority. Mrs. P. S. Puryear, of Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, is president.

¶ In Cleveland, Ohio, there are 100 colored public school teachers.

MEETINGS

THE *Alpha Phi Alpha* Fraternity will hold its 14th annual convention in Baltimore, Md., December 27-31. Railroads have granted a reduction of one and one-half fare on the certificate plan.

¶ The *Delta Sigma Theta* Sorority will hold its annual convention in Philadelphia, Pa., December 27-29.

¶ The *Alpha Kappa Alpha* Sorority will convene in Indianapolis, Ind., December 27-31. Ten new chapters will be represented.

¶ There were 200 delegates present at the meeting of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Negro Women's Club, held in Reading. A protest against the Ku Klux Klan was sent to the Governor in the name of the 14,000 colored club women of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Ruth L. Bennett was re-elected president.

¶ The Michigan State Association of Colored Women's Clubs has elected Mrs. Ida Postles, of Detroit, as president. A special feature of the convention was an address by Mrs. Mary B. Talbert.

¶ The national conference of the Y. M. C. A. will be held in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 1-4.

THE CHURCH

ST. JAMES Presbyterian Church, in New York City, has celebrated the sixth anniversary of the pastorate of Dr. Frank M. Hyder. The church has a membership of 1,400 of which 1,154 members joined during the past 6 years; over $65,000 has been raised.

¶ The Men's Club of Dixwell Avenue Con-

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CATAWBA SYNODICAL

gregational Church, New Haven, Conn., is holding its 16th season of "Community Betterment" series. Among the speakers is William Pickens, Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.

¶ The Protestant Ministerial Association of South Bend, Ind., has elected the Rev. Mr. B. F. Gordon, a Negro, as secretary-treasurer. Mr. Gordon is pastor of the Taylor A. M. E. Zion Chapel. He is a graduate of the University of Chicago, holding the Master's degree.

INDUSTRY

THE Tupelo, Miss., Oil & Ice Co., is employing John B. Anderson, a Negro, as chief refrigerating engineer. Mr. Anderson has been an employee for 20 years. The operating force of the company is 10 white and 18 colored men.

¶ Negroes in Dearfield, Colo., are operating the Dearfield Packing & Provision Co. It has a capacity of 10,000 cans daily.

¶ Madison Simms, a Negro barber in Knoxville, Tenn., has been employed in the establishment of Charles Chandler for the past 21 years. He has shaved over 60,000 people.

¶ Mr. C. H. James, a Negro of Charleston, W. Va., is head of a $250,000 general produce business.

¶ The Wage Earners' Savings Bank of Savannah, Ga., was organized in 1900 with resources of $102; its resources now are $1,000,000, with a paid-in capital of $50,000 and a surplus of $25,000; its deposits, among 20,000 depositors, amount to $957,498. The institution owns its own banking building, which is appraised at $95,000, and other real estate amounting to $31,500. The officers are L. E. Williams, president; Sol C. Johnson, vice-president; R. A. Harper, cashier; E. C. Blackshear, assistant cashier.

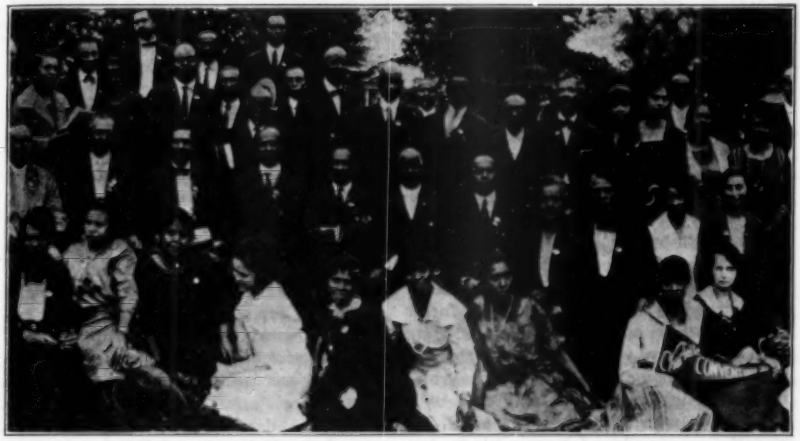
¶ The Columbia Laundry, a Negro enterprise in Norfolk, Va., is employing 14 workers. Mr. Charles H. Robinson is in charge.

¶ A syndicate of Negroes in Los Angeles has purchased 21,800 acres in Lower California for the establishment of a Negro colony. The company has been incorporated for $250,000 and is known as the Lower California Mexican Land & Development Co. Theodore W. Troy is president and Attorney Hugh E. McBeth, secretary.

¶ The Pace Phonograph Corporation, makers of Black Swan Records, has purchased a 3-story building in New York City. After 6-months' business, the company is employing 15 people in its office and shipping-room, an orchestra of 8 men, 7 district managers in the larger cities of the country and 1,000 dealers and agents; it ships 2,500 records every working day.

¶ Colored substitute letter carriers in Richmond, Va., have displaced white special delivery boys.

¶ The Independent Order of St. Luke, in Richmond, Va., has been established 54 years. It has a membership of 67,577 adults and 15,110 children, and has paid



SABBATH SCHOOL CONVENTION, CHARLOTTE, N. C.

$880,750 in death claims. It edits the *St. Luke Herald.*

¶ The colored Berry & Ross Manufacturing Company, New York City, has received a $10,000 order from agents on the West Coast of Africa for colored dolls.

CRIME

THE following lynchings have taken place since our last record:

Jones County, N. C., August 14, Jerome Whitfield, hanged.

Allendale, S. C., October 24, Ed. Kirkland, shot; body burned; murder.

Winneboro, La., October 25, Sam Gordon, hanged; murder.

THE WORLD WAR

AT the outbreak of the war, 5,571 Negroes were serving in the Regular Army and 5,300 in the National Guard; during the period of hostilities 5,800 volunteered and 367,710 were inducted into service, making a total of over 384,000 Negroes, or about 12% of the total enlisted forces of the United States.

¶ The personnel of Negroes in the Army was distributed as follows: Quartermaster Corps, 30.6%; Infantry, 20.7%; Depot Brigades, 15.6%; 82nd Division, 7.2%; Engineers, 5.9%; Development Battalions, 2.2%; Cavalry, .9%; Military Aeronautics, .3%; Machine Gun Training Center, .2%; Medical Department, .2%; Miscellaneous, 16.2%.

¶ In line organizations 925 Negroes received commissions; in the Medical Corps, 356; in the Dental Corps, 66; in the Sanitary Corps, 1; there were 60 chaplains.

¶ There were 9,558 Negroes who made the supreme sacrifice during the world war. Of these, 512 were killed in action, 219 died of wounds received in action, 8,350 died of diseases, and 477 died of miscellaneous causes.

POLITICS

SINCE the suffrage was granted to women the enrollment of colored voters in Baltimore, Md., has increased from 16,800 to 37,475.

¶ New Haven, Conn., has its first Negro Alderman, in the person of Attorney H. G. Tolliver.

¶ President Harding has sent to the Senate the name of the Rev. Solomon Porter Hood, of New Jersey, for United States Minister to Liberia. Mr. Hood is 68 years of age and a graduate of Lincoln. The position pays $5,000 per year.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

DURING the past 8 years, 14 colored Y. M. C. A. buildings were erected at a cost of $1,980,000, of which Mr. Julius Rosenwald contributed $350,000. The buildings are located in Chicago, New York, Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, Columbus, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Nashville, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Baltimore, Washington and Atlanta. There are nearly 25,000 paid-up members.

The Chicago branch, of which Mr. George A. Arthur is in charge, had 2,500 members last year; its budget for this year is $89,000, of which the colored people's share is 83%. The 46 colored Y. M. C. A. buildings in the United States are worth $2,880,500.

¶ The Cleveland Home for Aged Colored People has celebrated its 25th anniversary. The work is supported by the community fund.

¶ Robert Lisby, Jr., has been appointed United States Deputy Marshall at the Post Office building in Philadelphia. Mr. Lisby was formerly a member of the police force.

¶ Ned Gourdin, the Negro athlete of Harvard University, is the winner of the national pentathlon championship of the Amateur Athletic Union. He led a field of 7 competitors with a score of 12 points. He won the running broad jump with 21 feet 1 inch; the javelin throw with 169 feet 9¼ inches, and the 200 meter dash in 23 minutes and one-fifth second.

¶ Dr. William H. Browning, a graduate of Meharry, has been appointed to the Dental Staff of the United States Public Health Department. Dr. Browning has been practising dentistry in Los Angeles for the past 6 years.

¶ The Salvation Army has opened a building in Harlem, the Negro section in New York City. It has a seating capacity of 300 and the work is in charge of Captain Olive Gaines, a colored woman.

¶ George Young, a Negro in New York City, operates Young's Book Exchange. He started 6 years ago with 6 books; his collection has grown to over 8,000 books by and pertaining to the Negro.

¶ Chester K. Gillespie, a Negro in Cleveland, Ohio, is attorney for the Department of Finance.

¶ William Lillison, a colored patrolman in Knoxville, Tenn., has been retired. He will receive a pension of $80 a month.

¶ In Greensburg, Pa., Thomas E. Stokes, a Negro, has been placed in charge of the manufacturing and dispensing department of Westmoreland Hospital. He is a graduate of the University of Pittsburgh, 1919.

¶ The United States Military Hospital for Colored Soldiers and Sailors may be erected in Tuskegee, Ala. Its cost will be between $500,000 and $1,000,000. There is much dissatisfaction with this location.

¶ Maurice Ray, a Negro in Philadelphia, has been appointed to the Prohibition Enforcement Squad.

¶ The 8th colored Regiment of Chicago, Ill., has been federalized. It has 1,250 men with

FIVE GENERATIONS OF THE PARSONS FAMILY AT SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO.
Mrs. Mary C. Parsons, of the First Generation, Died This Year at the Age of 88.

Colonel Otis B. Duncan in command. While at camp, the regiment won range honors and mention for general efficiency.

¶ In Detroit, a Junior Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. has been formed. John M. Ragland is chairman of the Junior Committee.

¶ Motion pictures of the Protest Parade conducted by the Detroit Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., during the Conference last June, are being shown at the Baudette Theatre. Mr. Dudley, who had them made, intends to show the film in other cities.

¶ On a recent visit to Panama, the Rev. Matthew Anderson, of Philadelphia, was received by President Parros and Governor Morrow.

¶ Percentages of illiteracy in New York City are: native white, 0.3; foreign born white, 13.8; Negro, 2.1. The number of illiterate Negroes in New York State is 5,032.

¶ It has been found that the late James Milton Turner, who died in 1915, left an estate valued at over $300,000. Mr. Turner was a former United States Minister to Liberia.

¶ Grady Hospital Annex, a hospital-school for colored people in Atlanta, Ga., has been dedicated.

¶ St. Louis University, a Catholic institution, has refused to play a football game with the Engineering School of Milwaukee, because the latter team has a Negro center —McMann.

¶ As the result of protest by Negro citizens, the Huntington School of the Y. M. C. A., in Boston, Mass., has admitted Harvey Shaw, a Negro.

¶ Siki, a Negro of Senegal, is middleweight boxing champion of France and of Europe. He won the title by defeating Ercole Balzac, in the second round of a contest in Paris.

¶ Ground has been broken for the Colored 15th Regiment Armory in New York City.

¶ Dr. M. Russell Nelson has been appointed an interne in charge of the Gynecological Division of Bellevue Hospital, New York City. Dr. Nelson is 24 years of age and a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania.

¶ Negroes at Gary, Ind., have 10 grocery stores, several barber shops and restaurants, 2 undertaking establishments, and 1 drug store, operated by a woman, Dr. Bagby-Carter. There are real estate brokers, physicians, dentists and lawyers; a Justice of the Peace, a Deputy Prosecuting Attorney, truant officers and 8 policemen. In 1919 the Central State Bank was opened and has assets of $70,000; the National Realty and Investment Company is a business representing $300,000. The Negro population is estimated at 10,000.

¶ On the Isthmus of Panama there are 5 colored American citizens serving as Canal Clubhouse Secretaries. Their duties correspond to those of Y. M. C. A. secretaries. They are T. B. Nelly, J. O. Collins, J. E. Waller, K. C. Manning, W. V. Eagleson.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

AMONG those who participated in the National Urban League's Annual Conference, held in Chicago, were Miss Jane Addams, Founder of Hull House; Miss Julia Lathrop, formerly Director of the United States Children's Bureau and President of the National Conference of Social Work; Federal Judge E. O. Brown; Miss Mary McDowell, Head Worker, University Settlement; Horace J. Bridges, Leader of the Ethical Culture Society, and Kelly Miller, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Howard University.

¶ Twenty-five cities were formally represented at the conference—some of them having as many as 8 delegates.

¶ The Men's City Club, the Women's City Club, the Federation of Churches and the Woman's Club—all of the city of Chicago, have given a dinner at the Men's City Club in honor of L. Hollingsworth Wood, President; Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary, and Charles S. Johnson, Director of the Department of Research and Investigation of the National Urban League. There were 200 guests present, among whom were 50 personal guests of Mr. and Mrs. Julius Rosenwald. Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, President of the *Woman's City Club Bulletin*, was Toastmaster. Miss Mary McDowell arranged the testimonial.

¶ John C. Dancy, Executive Secretary of the Detroit Urban League, has been appointed by Mayor Couzens as a member of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment.

¶ Elmer A. Carter, Executive Secretary of the Louisville Urban League, has been appointed a member of the Mayor's Emergency Committee on Unemployment. The committee is composed of 15 persons from the city at large. This League has appointed a colored woman as Travelers' Aid worker to protect, inform and direct colored travelers

at railway stations in the city of Louisville.

¶ The six months' record of the Los Angeles Urban League shows that 480 men and women were furnished employment at monthly wages of more than $21,000; 88 women and children were given outings. The County Probation Department has referred cases of colored juvenile offenders to Louis S. Tenette, the Associate Executive Secretary.

¶ The Pittsburgh Urban League has been successful in getting colored people for the first time, to use free settlement houses in outlying districts.

¶ The Frederick Douglass Community Center of Toledo, Ohio, which was responsible for the formation of the Toledo Urban League, has taken over larger quarters. At its formal opening, the Mayor and 3 judges of the city attended. Mr. Frank Saunders, a member of the Governing Board, donated the boys' basketball equipment.

PERSONAL

MRS. HARRIET E. LOWE, of Winston-Salem, N. C., is 100 years old. She is the mother of 4 children, 3 of whom are public school teachers. She is the grandmother of 32, the great-grandmother of 46, and the great-great-grandmother of 2. Mrs. Lowe has been a consistent member of the Missionary Baptist Church for 55 years.

MRS. HARRIET E. LOWE

¶ W. David Brown, of New York City, is dead. Mr. Brown had been in the undertaking business 21 years and was a prominent member of a number of fraternities.

¶ W. Allison Sweeney, a writer, of Chicago, Ill., is dead.

FOREIGN

AT a meeting of the Women's Reform Club of Pretoria, Mrs. Maxeke, a native Bantu, was a speaker. Lady Steel presided. Mrs. Maxeke is president of the Bantu Women's Association. The meeting was called to discuss the existing conditions of life of native women in towns, and proposals for their betterment. The *Woman's Outlook* says: "Mrs. Maxeke spoke fluently, clearly and with dignity. As giving the views of those most nearly concerned, it must be considered as the most important speech of the meeting; it was a striking comment on the disability of the voteless citizen, to whose utterances and wishes so little importance is attached, that during her address the reporters sat back taking no notes, and dismissed her really interesting and able speech without any lines in their report."

¶ There are in Manila, P. I., the following colored men who are employed in the classified civil service: Robert G. Woods, chief clerk, and W. A. Caldwell, chief accountant, Bureau of Constabulary; Walter H. Loving, conductor of the Constabulary Band, with the rank and pay of Major; Professor J. H. M. Butler, Division Superintendent of Schools, Bureau of Education; and Davis Lockett, chief veterinarian, Bureau of Agriculture.

¶ The Rhenish Women's League, Berlin-Germany, has been denied a permit for a public exhibition of "The Black Pest," a motion picture dealing with the question of colored troops on the Rhine. The denial was made on the grounds that the film was not only worthless as propaganda but was also calculated to injure German prestige abroad.

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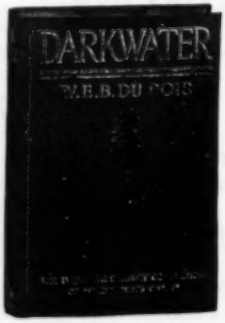

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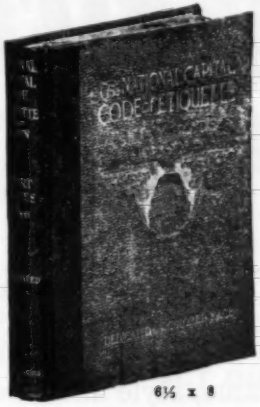

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Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Augustus Granville Dill, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE CRISIS and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above captain, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, to wit:

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